THE CHICHESTER CATHEDRAL PRAYER BOOK

WRITTEN AND ILLUMINATED IN ENGLAND BY
A LANCASTRIAN SCRIBE AND ARTIST
DURING THE EPISCOPATE OF
REGINALD PECOCK
(1450—1457)

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HOURS OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY AND OTHER OFFICES "AD USUM ANGLIAE" WITH VARIATIONS AND ADDITIONS FOR USE IN THE DIOCESE OF CHICHESTER

THIS unique manuscript dates from the Episcopate of Reginald Pecock (1450-1457).

The Bishop was the author of the famous "Repressor" and of the recently discovered and unpublished "Reule of Crysten Religioun" now in Mr. J. P. Morgan's library.

As no Prayer-book for the Diocese of Chichester has hitherto been described, we have prepared the following exact collation and details.

The British Museum possesses a Chichester Psalter, but does not possess a Chichester Horae; no other, in fact, appears to exist.

Fol. 1. Within three side borders the Lord's Prayer, preceded by an English alphabet illustrating the Gothic letters used in the writing of the present MS. A large Maltese cross forms the ornament of the page, the initial opening to the Paternoster being much smaller—a gold capital on a coloured panel.

Fol. 1 v. The Ave Maria and the Credo, followed on fol. 2 v. by the Confession of Faith and the Absolution.

Fol. 3 v. Rubric referring to certain prayers and graces for special days before and after dinner.

Fol. 6 v. Another rubric for certain other days.

Fol. 9. Similar rubric for Lent.

Fol. 13. The Calendar which, though it might have been expected otherwise from the various additional portions

of services, is nevertheless a strictly Anglican Calendar but for the particular use either of Chichester Cathedral itself or for the diocese of Chichester.

The Cathedral of Chichester is situated in the south-west of England reaching to the English Channel, and was erected in 1115. The See has yielded two Saints to the Church and three Lords Chancellor to England.

Among the red-letter English Saints' days are:

Jan. 19. St. Wulstan.
Mar. 18. St. Edward the Confessor.
Mar. 20. St. Cuthbert.
April 3. St. Richard, the Bishop and Patron Saint of Chichester. (See Appendix.)
July 7. Translation of St. Thomas of Canterbury.
Aug. 1. St. Peter's Chains (or "Lammas Day").
Sept. 4. Translation of St. Cuthbert.
Nov. 20. St. Edmund (St. Richard's patron and devoted friend; his altar is in Chichester Cathedral).
Dec. 29. St. Thomas of Canterbury.

Black-letter English Saints' days are very numerous.

Jan. 5. St. Thomas.
Mar. 1. St. David.
Mar. 2. St. Chad.
April 19. St. Elphege.
May 19. St. Dunstan.
June 9. Translation of St. Edmund.
June 16. Translation of St. Richard (Bishop and Patron Saint of Chichester. See Appendix).
June 20. Translation of St. Edward.
June 22. St. Alban.
June 23. St. Etheldreda.

July 15. Translation of St. Swithin.
July 16. Translation of St. Osmund.
July 17. Translation of St. Kenelm.
July 28. St. Sampson (of St. David's).
Aug. 5. St. Oswald.
Aug. 31. St. Cuthberga.
Sept. 15. St. Edith.
Oct. 12. St. Wilfrid (the Founder of the See of Chichester. See Appendix).
Oct. 19. St. Frideswide.
Nov. 16. St. Edmund (St. Richard's devoted friend; his altar is in Chichester Cathedral).
Dec. 3. St. Birinus of Chichester.

It will be seen that this is an absolutely unique English Calendar.

The page following the Calendar proves the special Chichester "use."

After enumerating a variety of special days which local usage required, it says that there are three days in the whole year that are to be kept before all the rest; viz., April 3, August 1, and December 3. These give us *red* St. Richard of Chichester; *red* St. Peter's Chains (Lammas Day); *black* St. Birinus. All these point to the place of their celebration as being either the Cathedral City of Chichester itself or somewhere else in the diocese of Chichester. In the Cathedral was the magnificent Shrine of St. Richard until it was desecrated and carried off by order of Henry VIII, and to Chichester the memorial of St. Birinus, Bishop of Dorchester, was transferred and where we may conclude on "Lammas Day" the famous relics of St. Peter were specially honoured. In the year 1478, the crowd of pilgrims who visited Chichester Cathedral on St. Richard's

Day (April 3) was so great, that Bishop Storey had to make stringent rules whereby the pilgrims might approach the Shrine in a reverent manner. Heretofore the pilgrims had used their staves to fight with for places, in consequence bloodshed and even murder had taken place. These orders of Bishop Storey were published on the Sunday preceding the festival of St. Richard. The inventory of jewels, relics and other valuables, taken when St. Richard's shrine was desecrated by Henry VIII, still exists in the Public Record Office.

But we shall return to this later.

The memorial of St. Birinus was eventually transferred from Chichester to Winchester. It may be noted that no other *red* Saint's day, except that of St. Richard of Chichester, is noted on fol. 25 of this MS.

Fol. 26 begins the Office known as the "Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary," with a full border and a large finely drawn initial D to the Invocation.

Fol. 27. The hymn is the usual Anglican, so is the anthem, so are the Psalms and Lessons, etc., to the end of Matins.

Fol. 36. Lauds. This Office is the same as the usual Anglican to fol. 45 v. anthem for *Memoriae* of the Holy Spirit.

Fol. 46. Anthem for *Memoriae* of the Holy Trinity.

Fol. 46 v. Anthem for the Holy Cross.

Then on fol. 47 follow Commemorations of the Saints as usual, down to fol. 55 v.

Fol. 56 v. Office of *Prime*.

Here we have the first large miniature, viz., the Betrayal. The Lancastrian costumes and armour are very remarkable.

On the opposite page (fol. 57) begins the Office with another fine initial D, the whole within a full border.

Fol. 62. At the foot is the verse to the Office of the Cross "Hora prima," etc., it ends with two extras.

Fol. 63. Hymn and prayer on fol. 63 v. These are not in the usual Anglican prayer-books.

Fol. 64 v. *Ad terciam.*

Large miniature of Christ before Pilate. The costumes of the two Soldiers are very remarkable.

On the opposite page is the initial D of the service with full borders.

The Hymn here varies in different English prayer-books, but in this place it is the ordinary one, or rather parts of two, "Veni Creator" and "Memento Salutis," as in the Paris "use," the Hymn of the Cross is on fol. 68, fol. 68 v, and 69. These are additional to the ordinary English prayer-books.

Fol. 70. Initial D of the service of *Ad Sextam*, and the rest is the usual Anglican down to fol. 74, where it ends.

Fol. 75 v. Large miniature of the Stabat Mater to *Ad Nonam.*

Opposite is the initial D of the service which, as before, is of Anglican use, down to fol. 80. The last prayer is not found in ordinary English *Horae.*

Fol. 82 begins with verses of Psalm 121 (the first for the Hour) in the service of Vespers.

Fol. 87. Here begin a number of *Memoriae* to the Holy Trinity, the Cross, Archangels, Apostles and Saints. The latter are St. Laurence, St. Stephen, St. Thomas of Canterbury, St. Nicholas, St. Mary Magdalene, St. Katherine, and St. Margaret, ending with *Memoriae de face* and *Memoriae de compassione* to fol. 97.

Fol. 98. *Ad Completorium.* Begins with initial C of the service for the Hour and a full border.

Fol. 101. Rubrics *Capitulum.*

The whole service is the usual Anglican, with the exception of one or two extra prayers at the end.

Fol. 104. Another special Anglican feature is found in the *Salve Regina*.

Fol. 106. *Gaude Virgo*. This is sometimes omitted in Anglican prayer-books.

Fol. 108. Another Hymn to the Virgin generally omitted in Anglican *Horae*, as are also the prayers.

These extra hymns and prayers to the Blessed Virgin prove this *Horae* to be very notable, and entirely unusual. Of course, it is not an ordinary public Service-Book, and although we cannot say it was used in any particular church in the diocese of Chichester, the probability is that the particular church where the Lancastrian owner worshipped was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Fol. 110 v. Here end the Hours of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Fol. 111 v. Large miniature of Christ enthroned on a rainbow as Judge of the quick and the dead. The figures of the risen dead are very extraordinary.

Fol. 112. Initial D of first of Penitential Psalms. Two full borders.

Fol. 128. Three side border to the first of the fifteen Gradual Psalms. The rest follows regularly to fol. 133.

Fol. 133. Here begins the Litany of the Saints which usually precedes the Gradual Psalms. This particular Litany is one of the fullest ever met with in an English Prayer-book,[1] containing apparently not only all the Saints of the pre-Reformation Anglican "usages," but those of

[1] From the fulness of this Litany, which far exceeds that of the diocese of Hereford, we may presume it was copied verbatim from the Breviary. Or, perhaps, from the Martyrology, portions of which were read at *Prime* daily in cathedrals.

several French and Flemish "uses" as well. It contains, moreover, the whole of the Service, afterwards transformed into the Common Prayer Book of the Edwardian Church of England which was published in 1549.

The Litany of the Saints ends on fol. 143 v.

Fol. 144 v. Large miniature to Service or Office of the Dead. Four ecclesiastics officiating in a Church at the Altar. Two in black (symbolic of Death) and two in green (symbolic of Hope and therefore of the Resurrection).

Fol. 145. Begins the Office of the Dead with the *Placebo, Dilexi quoniam*, etc., sung at Vespers. It is called the *Placebo* from the Anthem before the 1st Psalm as above.

Fol. 147. The Psalm *De profundis* (4th in order) is the 129th in the Vulgate.

Fol. 150 v. *Requiem eternam*, etc., although here called the Anthem is not so, it is the Collect sung instead of the Anthem after each Psalm.

Fol. 151. Here follow instead of simply the ordinary single prayer before the *Dirige* all the prescribed prayers.

Fol. 152 v. The Matins, Anthem, and *Dirige* are omitted.

Fol. 153. *Verba mea.* Psalm of the first Nocturne of the Mass for the Dead.

Fol. 157 v. *Nequando*, etc. This seems to take the place of the *Dirige* as it is immediately followed by the Lessons, fol. 158 to 160 v.

Fol. 160 v. Regular as in purely Anglican books down to fol. 168.

Fol. 168. The 3rd Nocturne (no Rubric here) for Anglican use.

Fol. 174. Lesson 7th, *Spiritus meus.* The Rubrics are omitted.

Fol. 177. At Lauds. Still Anglican use. *Miserere mei*, Psalm 50 (Vulgate).

Fol. 182. The Song called the Canticle of Isaiah (ch. xxxviii, 10-20).

Fol. 186 v. The Song of Zachariah.

Fol. 187. Psalm 29. *Exaltabo te* (an Anglican Psalm as distinct from the Rome and Paris usages).

End of Office (fol. 191 v).

Fol. 192 v. Large miniature to the Office of *Commendatio Animarum*. Angels carrying the souls of the dead to Heaven beneath the blessing of God.

Fol. 193. Initial B to Psalm 118, *Beate immaculati in via*. This is the 119th Psalm in the English version. It is in twenty-two sections, and goes down to fol. 207.

Fol. 207. *Domine probasti* (Psalm 138), this with its anthem, the Requiem (here omitted), and prayer concludes the Office.

Fol. 210 v. A rubric explaining the prayer composed by St. Bernardino of Siena (fol. 211), with large handsome initial O and three side borders.

Fol. 213. Another rubric in English, which, with all the other English passages in the volume, is transcribed as an Appendix to this monograph.

Fol. 215 v. Large miniature of the horrible Martyrdom of St. Erasmus. This completely explains itself, although the addition of the windlass [1] would seem to be the creation of the Lancastrian artist's imagination, or else it is the Martyrologist's embellishment of the story. The English costumes depicted in this miniature are extremely curious. St. Erasmus, who is, perhaps, better known as St. Elmo, is specially the patron and protector of sailors, and of lighthouses for them. It must not be forgotten that the diocese of Chichester has an extensive coast line to the English Channel.

[1] The windlass, however, is his ordinary symbolic accompaniment in pictures of him and of this very scene at his martyrdom.

The name and miniature of St. Erasmus and the fact that he was the patron of sailors and fishermen is further proof of the Chichester usage, and that of the Cathedral's vicinity where St. Richard lived and associated with fishermen.

We have never before seen a miniature of St. Erasmus in any English Prayer-Book.

Fol. 218. The *Deus Misereatur* as sung at Vespers, in English (Psalm 67) at Evensong, alternatively with the *Nunc Dimittis.*

Fol. 219. Prayer to the Holy Trinity, followed by a repetition of the *Deus Misereatur* and other psalms.

Fol. 223. The Seven "Words" of Christ. Prayer with fine initial D and full borders.

Fol. 226. Prayer, *Deus propicius esto.* Initial and three side borders.

Fol. 227 v. *A devote* (*devout*) *prayer for al maner tribulacons of a man or woman* (in English)—ends on fol. 228 v.

Fol. 229. Rubric to the following Prayer of St. Augustine, with initial D and three side borders.

It may be interesting to read the translation of this Rubric. "Here beginneth the inquiry of the blessed bishop Augustine concerning this prayer, on whatsoever day anyone shall have repeated it devoutly the devil shall not be able to hurt him nor any wicked man do him any hindrance: and whatever he justly asks of God it shall be given him: and if on that day his soul shall leave his body, it shall not enter hell."

The prayer commences with a very handsome initial D on a bright gold panel and three side borders. The prayer extends over no less than sixteen pages.

Fol. 237. An invocation to all Holy Apostles.

Fol. 237 v. Another to all Holy Martyrs.

Fol. 238. Another to all Holy Confessors.

Fol. 238 v. Another to all Holy Virgins.

Fol. 239. Another to all the Saints of God.

To all these is prefixed a painted initial and a side border.

Fol. 240. An *English* rubric to a prayer to Jesus Christ.

Fol. 241. The eight verses of St. Bernard. Initial I and three side borders.

Fol. 243. Rubric of indulgences conceded by the most holy lord the Pope to all readers of these *suffragia*. Initial O and three side borders.

Fol. 244. Verses to St. Anne. Initial G and three borders and prayer on fol. 244 v.

Fol. 245 v. Large miniature of Christ as "Salvator Mundi," with full all-round borders.

Fol. 246. The fifteen prayers of Christ's Passion known as the "Fifteen Oes." Initial O and three borders ending on fol. 256. A thanksgiving to Jesus Christ ends fol. 257.

Fol. 257 v. Large full-length miniature of St. Anthony the Hermit and founder of Monachism (not St. Anthony of Padua), with full borders.

Fol. 258. Invocation to St. Anthony. Initial V and three borders.

Fol. 259. Psalms of the Passion. Initial D and full borders.

These Psalms are complete to end of volume, and according to Anglican use.

Such are the contents of this handsomely written and richly illuminated Chichester *Horae*. The miniature paintings and the ornamental letters are in the finest style of Lancastrian English art, and the very quaint costumes are those worn by Englishmen and Englishwomen in the reign of Henry VI, who was the last king of the house of

Lancaster. The date of this style of ornamentation is from the marriage of Richard II (to Anne of Bohemia) until the reign of Edward IV (1382-1461).

The indications in this MS. point to the reign of Henry VI, or *circa* 1450.

An illuminated Missal used in the diocese of Lincoln, written about 1405, gives a Commemoration (but not a miniature) of St. Erasmus, but English devotion to him did not commence much before 1489. Thus his life is not given in Caxton's "Golden Legend" of 1483, but is in that of 1489. St. Erasmus seems to have come into the English calendar from the Dutch, as the representation of his martyrdom occurs in a Dutch MS. in the Fitzwilliam Library at Cambridge, in much the same form as the Lancastrian miniature in this present manuscript.

We have never met with any other English *Horae* containing a notice of St. Erasmus as early as the present. The Lincoln MS. alluded to above, is a Missal, not a *Horae.*

The variations in the Burial Service suggest the influence of Bishop Pecock, during whose Episcopate this present MS. was written.

Bishop Reginald Pecock became Bishop of Chichester after the death of Bishop Molins, but his writings, as *e.g.* his *Donet*,[1] date some years earlier. The language of the English passages in this *Horae* is precisely the same as that of Pecock's "Repressor," and is more antiquated than either Lydgate or Chaucer. The "Repressor" is the earliest known example of the English vernacular of the times anterior to the Wars of the Roses. Notice, for example, the use of the gutteral *z* for *y* or *gh.*

[1] *Donet* or *Donat* was synonymous with Grammar in the middle ages, from the Latin Grammar, in use, of Donatus the Grammarian.

Pecock wrote many other books; some are still extant as MSS.

APPENDIX I

LIST OF ENGLISH VERNACULAR PRAYERS AND PASSAGES IN THE MANUSCRIPT

Fol. 25.

Janner the fyrst day the ii the iii the V the X the XVIII.

Februar the VII the XVII the XVIII day.

Marche the VIII the XVI & the XVII.

Apryll the VI the IX.

May the VI the XV the XVI the XVIII.

June the VI day.

Jule the XV the XIX.

August the IX the XV the XX.

September the VII, XV, the XVIII.

October the fyrst the VI.

November the XV the XVII.

December the VI the VII day.

Ther is III days in the yere (zer) to be kept befor al othir The III day of the Kalender of Apryll The fyrst day of august The III day of the calendar of december. (These were the three greatest days in the Diocese of Chichester).

Fol. 81. Here me O L (intended for Hear me O Lord).

Fol. 213. *Rubric* before the Commemoration of St. Erasmus.

"Gode almygthi hathe grauntyd that wath mane woman or chylde that redyth this prayer that foloweth every

God almyghty hathe
graunted that wath
mane woman or chylde pat
redyth this prayer that fo
lowith euery sonday or ze
uyth any alwys to a power
mane or a caudyll of Wax
brynnyng in the worshyp
of god and seynt eualne he
shal haue fyve yystis of god.
The fyrst is that he schal
haue resonable goode to his
lyues ende. The secunde ys
that his enmyes shal haue
no powere to do hym harme
The thrid ys what resona

bile prayer that he askyth
ytt schalbe grauntyd hym

he fourth ys that he
schalbe delyuerid of all
maner of his tribulacions
and hys desees boyth vi
sible and vnvisible. The
fyfte ys that at hys last
ende he schal haue so gret
repentance that he shall
not dye without howsil
and schrift and othir the
sacramentis of holy chirch

nd thys ys the prayer
that folowyth. Oracio lóua
et deuoti vilde.

sonday or zevyth (giveth) any almys to a power mane or a candyll of wax brynnyng (burning) in the worship of gode and seynt erasme he shal have fyve yyftis (gifts) of god The fyrst is that he schal have resonable goode to his lyves ende. The secunde ys that his enmyes shal have no powere to do him harme The thride ys what resonabile prayer that he askyth ytt schalbe grauntyd hym. The fowrth ys that he schalbe delyveryd of al maner of his tribulacions and hys deseses boyth visable and vnvysable. The fyffte ys that at hys last ende he schal have so grete repentance that he shall not die withoute howsil and schryft (*i.e.* sacrament of the Lord's Supper, and confession to a priest) and other the sacramentis of holy chirch. And thys ys the prayer that foloyth. Oracio bona et devote valde."

Fol. 227 v. *Rubric*: "A devote (devout) prayer for al maner tribulacons of a man or woman."

"Do synge these masses undyrwrittyne for hyselff or for any othir of his frenedys in what nede of tribulacon or sikenesse tha they be yn they shalbe delyv̊ed be the grace of god w^{t}oute dowte wythyn X days and in the same maner for to deliver the sowlis of the frendys oute of payne, for yt haith ben preued. Item. Do synge a masse on the sonday in the worship of the trinite ād a lyght iii candilis and fede iii pore men or zeve (give) iii almys. Item. The monday a masse in worship of seynte mychaell and of all angellis and a light IX candellis and fede IX pore men or zeve IX almys. The tuesday a masse of seynt spiritt and alight VII candellis und fede VII pore men or zeve VII almys. Item. The Wednysday a masse of seynt John̄ the baptist ī y^{e} worship of a prīarkas (patriarch) wt iiii candellis and fede IIII pore men or zeve IIII almys. Item. The thursday a masse of seynt petyr and of al the apostilis w^{t} XII candills

and fede XII pore men or zeve XII almys. Item. The fryday a masse of the cross w^{t} V candills and fede V pore men or zeve V almys. Item The satirday a masse of oure lady and of all virgīs w^{t} III candills and fede III pore men or zeve III almys. And all thes days you most (must) offer some offring And wit it wele (mind it well) this prayer shalbe harde (heard) w^{t}in (within) shorte tyme."

Then follows fol. 229 the Rubric of which is translated in the foregoing analysis.

Fol. 240 *Rubric*. "This prayer foloyng ys written in a ston in the chirche of seynte John laternensis (St. John Lateran) in rome. And therto is grauntid to all thē (them) that seyith this prayer devotely knelyng upon ther kneys oones (once) upon the day VIII hundreth thovsand yeris of pardon for dedely synnes and tyme lost." Oracio bona.

This truly remarkable manuscript is strictly speaking a "Book of Offices"—including the Hours, and is entirely English penmanship and English illumination for English (private) use. The admission of the Commemoration of St. Erasmus must have been a special request from the original owner of the volume, for local reasons which have already been stated.

For centuries Chichester Cathedral was called "St. Richard's Church."

APPENDIX II

ST. RICHARD OF WYCH, BISHOP OF CHICHESTER, 1245-1253.

AN ascetic devotee, an upholder of ecclesiastical power against a tyrannical King, a prodigal almsgiver during life, a worker of miracles after death, he is a good representative of the mediæval Saint.

Richard of Wych, so called from Droitwich his native town in Worcestershire, was the son of a farmer who had been prosperous, if not wealthy, but after the father's death the family fell into poverty through the mismanagement of their property by guardians. Richard, the younger son, laboured for several years as a farm servant upon the land; until, through his industry and skilful management, it yielded a comfortable income. Then he left his elder brother to enjoy it, and betook himself to Oxford to gratify his passion for learning. That university was in the full meridian of its mediæval renown. Thousands of students thronged to the lectures of the saintly Edmund Rich, afterwards Primate of England, the learned Grostete, Nicholas de Lyra, and many more. Many of them, like Richard, were rich in nothing but their zeal for learning; they depended for food very much on the hospitality of rich families, or of the great Abbeys of Oseney, Eynsham and Abingdon. Fire was often an unknown luxury, and manuscripts and pens had to be cast aside while the poor scholar ran about to warm himself. Richard and two companions

had but one warm tunic and one hooded gown between them, in which they attended lectures by turns. Their usual fare consisted of vegetables and bread with a very little wine: fish and flesh they could not afford, except on high festivals or when guests were invited.

From Oxford Richard went to Paris, and from Paris to Boulogne, where he gained a high reputation for knowledge of Canon Law, the great subject of study in that university. In 1235 he returned to England. The fame of his piety and learning had preceded him. He was made Chancellor of Oxford and his former teachers, Edmund, now Primate of England, and Grostete, now Bishop of Lincoln, contended for the honour and advantage of securing him as Chancellor for their respective dioceses. Grostete gave way to the Primate, and Richard became Chancellor of the See of Canterbury, and the faithful friend and companion of Edmund, alike in the day of his prosperity and of his adversity. When the Primate despairing of success in his contest with the King and the Pope on behalf of the privileges of the national Church, retreated, like St. Thomas à Becket, to Pontigny, Richard went with him, and Richard was by his side at Soissy in his mortal illness as he lay on the bare ground, the only bed on which the ascetic Prelate would consent to die. After the death of his patron, Richard went to Orleans and studied theology in a Dominican house. Here also he was ordained priest, after which he returned to England, and in the quiet vicarage of Deal enjoyed for a time that learned and pious leisure which was most congenial to him. He was not permitted to enjoy it long. Boniface of Savoy, the successor, A.D. 1245, of St. Edmund in the primacy, though not in his virtues and learning, had yet the good sense to value a man like Richard of Wych, who was both virtuous and learned, and he compelled him,

much against his will, to resume the office of Chancellor of the Diocese.

On the death of Bishop Ralph, the canons of Chichester had elected Robert Passelew, one of their own body and a staunch partisan of the King. The Primate in a provincial synod, cancelled the appointment of Passelew, on account, as was alleged, of insufficient learning and unsatisfactory character. Richard the Chancellor was recommended to the chapter, which readily assented to the recommendation. The King, Henry III, was enraged, and refused to give up the temporalities of the See. Richard had an interview with him, but in vain. He submitted his grievances to the Pope, Innocent IV, who confirmed his appointment and consecrated him at Lyons. On his return to England he found the property of the See being disgracefully wasted by the royal sequestrators.

Again he strove to move the King's conscience to a sense of mercy and justice, but again Henry was inexorable, Richard became a homeless wanderer in his own diocese; he lived on the hospitality of his clergy but he repaid them by the assiduity with which he discharged the duties of a chief pastor, travelling from parish to parish across the woods and downs of Sussex on foot after the manner of a primitive apostle. His chief abode was with a poor priest of Tarring in Sussex, Simon by name, where, in the intervals of his journeys, he would recur to the occupation of planting, pruning and grafting, in which he had excelled in the days of his youth spent amongst the orchards of Worcestershire.

Pope Innocent did not abandon his cause, and after two years the King was induced by threats of excommunication to restore the temporalities of the See. Prosperity did not blunt but rather quickened, the saintly virtues of the Bishop.

He preached in all parts of his diocese, visited the poor with such reckless bounty as to provoke the remonstrances of his brother, who had become his steward. "Your alms," said he, "exceed your income." "Then sell my plate and horse," was the prompt reply. In his private life he observed the most rigid temperance and frugality, keeping to the vegetable fare of his old Oxford days. He rose at earliest dawn to say his Office, and if the birds had already begun their matin chant, "Shame on me," he would cry, "that these irrational creatures should be before me in singing praise to God."

The severity with which he enforced ecclesiastical discipline was as great as his tenderness towards the suffering and needy. A body of Statutes, which he compiled with the aid of his Chapter, throws considerable light upon the condition and character of the clergy at this period.

Many of them were still secretly married, though such alliances were not recognized by Canon Law, and the honourable name of wife was not granted to their domestic partners. Bishop Richard set his face against the practice with relentless austerity. By his statutes married clergy were to be deprived of their benefices, their concubines were to be denied the privileges of the Church during life and after death; they were pronounced incapable of inheriting any property from their husbands, and any such bequests were to be applied to the fabric of the cathedral.

A vow of chastity was to be required of all candidates for ordination.

Among the many reforms instituted by the Bishop were —children to be confirmed within a year after baptism; the Creed and the Lord's Prayer were to be learned in the vulgar tongue. Priests were to celebrate mass in clean vestments, thoroughly clean corporals, and at least two

consecrated palls were to be placed on the altar; the cross to be set up in front of the celebrant, the bread to be of the purest wheaten flour, the wine mixed with water.

In 1253 Bishop Richard undertook, at the request of the Pope, to preach on behalf of a crusade. The flame of enthusiasm for the recovery of the Holy Land was dying out in Europe. The Bishop preached the crusade with fervour in place after place along the south coast; but as he drew near Dover, where he was to consecrate a church to be dedicated to his former patron, the now canonized Primate, St. Edmund, he was seized by illness. He lodged in the Maison Dieu that night, and at early Mass in the chapel next morning he fell; the clergy carried him out and laid him on a bed from which he was not to rise again.

APPENDIX III

ST. WILFRID (OR WILFRITH) BISHOP OF YORK

BANISHED from his See by Ecgfrith, King of Northumbria, Wilfrid sought refuge in Mercia, but the King, who was connected with Ecgfrith by marriage, bade him depart and the Bishop, journeying southwards, sought shelter of Aethelwealh the Christian King of the South Saxons. He was probably the first Englishman of learning and culture to pierce the mighty forest of Anderida, and his arrival was destined to be the introduction into Sussex (Chichester of course is in this county) of Christianity and civilization. King Aethelwealh was glad to welcome the powerful and learned Prelate, one of the most renowned men of his age, who by a strange course of events was now brought to his doors in the guise of a homeless exile. Wilfrid, then, was courteously and hospitably received at the royal dwelling. This was not at this period at Chichester. The early English kings, true to the habits and tastes of the Teutonic race, as described by Tacitus, had no liking for towns and commonly resided at a distance from them.

Aethelwealh's abode at the time was on the shores of the flat and dreary but fertile peninsula of Selsey, which projects into the sea about ten miles due south of Chichester.

It was a season of severe distress and famine in that part of Sussex when Wilfrid arrived and he immediately found means of alleviating the people's sufferings.

For several months Wilfrid went about preaching with indefatigable zeal and great success. At last a huge

multitude of people were baptized in one day. "And on that day," says Bede, "the rain so long withheld revisited the thirsty land." Fresh vegetation and the new Faith burst into life together. The grateful Aethelwealh made a grant of lands in Selsey to Wilfrid. They contained a population of eighty-seven families among which were two hundred and fifty slaves of both sexes. Wilfrid immediately enfranchised them. Thus the peninsula of Selsey, now little known to any except a few resident clergy, farmers and peasants, was the original source and centre of Christianity and civilization in Sussex. Here the King had his royal dwelling; here Wilfrid built the church in which stood his Episcopal cathedra or throne; "stool" or "settle" as it is called in old English. This was the first cathedral church in Sussex, and he dedicated it to St. Peter, mindful, doubtless, of his own greater cathedral church of St. Peter at York. The church of Wilfrid at Selsey has long been swept away by the encroachments of the envious sea; no vestiges or traditions of its character remain.

Wilfrid's connection with Sussex came to an end about the year 685 when Ecgfrith the Northumbrian King who had driven him into exile fell in battle, and soon after Wilfrid was restored to his See at York.

Among the converts to Christianity made during the sojourn of Wilfrid in Sussex none are known to us by name except one. This is Saint Lewinna.

The days in which Wilfrid came to Sussex were the brightest period in the life of the early English Church.

The day of St. Wilfrid's deposition in the Calendar of this Chichester *Horae* is October 12, which was not the day of his death, for in the year 709 it fell on a Saturday and St. Wilfrid died on a Thursday, probably October 3, in his seventy-sixth year.

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